

SOME
FACTS
AND
OBSERVATIONS
Relative to the FATE of the late
LINEN BILL,
Last Session of
PARLIAMENT
IN THIS
KINGDOM.

DUBLIN:
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1852

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SOME
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THE Linen Bill of last Session of Parliament was intended for a general Law; repealing all former Acts relative to this Manufacture, and enacting such Parts of said Acts as were thought proper to be continued; with such Alterations, Amendments and Additions, as were therein after contained.

CONTRARY to the usual Practice in regard to our Linen Bills, this Bill was returned to us from *England*, so mangled and mutilated, that it became absolutely unavoidable to suffer it to drop^a; The Omissions

^a In order that the Public who are so deeply interested in the Issue of this Matter, may have all the Assistance which at present is to be had, for forming just Conjectures concerning the Origin and Progress of this extraordinary Transaction; It may not be amiss to give them some Information of the several Steps which are requisite in passing of Bills into Laws in our *Irish* Parliament: First, upon Leave being given by the House where the Bill has

Omissions are by far the most material, though some of the Alterations are likewise important ; there is in one Place upwards of an intire Skin, about one twelfth Part

its Origin, whether of Lords or Commons, it is brought in under the Title of *Heads of a Bill* ; and after being passed by the House it is directed to be carried to the Lord Lieutenant, by whose Order it is next laid before our Privy Council, where it may be wholly suppressed ; but when it is agreed to, either without any Variation or with such Alterations and Amendments as they shall judge proper, it is then put into the Form of an Act, and transmitted to *England*, accompanied with a Letter from the Lord Lieutenant and Council to the Secretary of State, setting forth the Purport, and explaining the Reasons and Intentions of the Bill : the Bill is next laid before a Committee of the *English* Council, and by them referred to the King's Attorney and Solicitor General ; who are to consider thereof, and to report how far it is, or with what Alterations, &c. it may be made, proper for being passed into a Law. Upon their Report the Bill is taken under the Consideration of the Council, and is either dropt, or ordered to be remitted under the Great Seal, without any, or with such Variations as they shall see fit.

Along with the Bill thus sent back into *Ireland* under the Great Seal, which is the Lord Lieutenant's Authority to pass it into a Law, it is said to be a constant Practice to transmit from the Council Office in *England* to the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary here, a Rescript minutely pointing out, even to an '*at* or an *and*,' whatever Alterations, Obliterations or Additions which have been made on the other Side : From the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary's Office the Bill is returned to the House in which it took its Rise ; and if, upon comparing it with the Heads of the Bill as they were sent from thence, there are found any Variations, then these Variations are taken under Consideration, and if they appear of such a Nature as to defeat the original Purposes of the Bill, or in any other Respect to render it improper to be passed into a Law, the House lets the Bill drop : When this is not the Case, the Bill is sent to the other House of Parliament, with a Message desiring their Concurrence ; and this House is only at Liberty either to pass the Whole or reject the Whole, the Bill not admitting any Variation ; (indeed it would be endless if it should) after having passed the Council of *England*, and got the Great Seal annexed this, as it is said, is the ordinary Course.

Part of the Whole Bill, viz. from Line 12th in Skin 9th to Line 13th in Skin 10th altogether left out.

THE Clauses, thus omitted, begin with reciting,
 ‘ That by an *English* Act of Parliament of the 3d
 ‘ and 4th of *Q. Ann*, intituled an Act to permit the
 ‘ Exportation of *Irish* Linen Cloth to the Plantations
 ‘ &c.; it was made lawful to export from *Ireland* di-
 ‘ rectly to the *British* Plantations all Sorts of white
 ‘ and brown Linen Cloth of the Manufacture of
 ‘ *Ireland* under the Restrictions and Conditions in said
 ‘ Act mentioned, for the Term of eleven Years, which
 ‘ Act was continued so far as related to such Permif-
 ‘ sion, by an Act in the first of *K. George* the First for
 ‘ one Year, and to the End of the next Session; and
 ‘ that by another Act made in *Great-Britain* in the 3d
 ‘ of *K. George* the First, intituled an Act for continuing
 ‘ the Liberty of exporting *Irish* Linen Cloth Duty
 ‘ free to the *British* Plantations in *America*, the said
 ‘ recited Act of the 3d and 4th of *Q. Ann*, so far
 ‘ forth as the same relates to the Exportation of *Irish*
 ‘ Linen, should be continued in Full Force, SO LONG
 ‘ as the Merchants and other Persons of *Great-Britain*
 ‘ should be permitted to import into *Ireland*, free
 ‘ from all Duties, such white and brown Linens as
 ‘ should be made in *Great-Britain*.

THE Bill goes on to recite, ‘ That by an Act pas-
 ‘ sed in this Kingdom in the 14th and 15th Years of
 ‘ *K. Charles* the 2d for settling the Excise, and by
 ‘ another Act passed the same Session settling the Sub-
 ‘ sidy of Poundage, and granting Tonage, all *Bri-*
 ‘ *tish* Linens imported into this Kingdom were sub-
 ‘ jected

‘ jected to certain Duties referred to, or mentioned
 ‘ in the said Acts.’ Then the Bill enacts ‘ That it
 ‘ shall and may be lawful for all Merchants and
 ‘ other Persons of *Great-Britain* to import into this
 ‘ Kingdom all Sorts of white and of brown *British*
 ‘ Linens, that are or shall be made and manufactured
 ‘ in *Great-Britain*, free from all Duties whatsoever, So
 ‘ LONG as it shall be lawful to export from this King-
 ‘ dom directly to the *British* Plantations all Sorts of
 ‘ white and brown Linens of the Manufacture of
 ‘ this Kingdom, on such Terms, Conditions and Limi-
 ‘ tations as in the said recited Act of the 3d and 4th
 ‘ of *Q. Ann* are limited and appointed, and No
 ‘ LONGER.

THE Bill goes on next to enact, ‘ That all white,
 ‘ painted and stained Callicoes, and all painted and
 ‘ stained Muslins, except such as are painted and
 ‘ stained in *Great-Britain*, shall at any time until the
 ‘ 25th of *December* 1763, and to the End of the next
 ‘ ensuing Session, answer and pay the Duty of one
 ‘ Shilling and Six-pence per Yard, and that all Sorts
 ‘ of Linen and Lawns which shall during this time
 ‘ be imported into this Kingdom, except they be of
 ‘ the Growth and Manufacture of *Great-Britain*, or
 ‘ be painted or stained in *Great-Britain*, shall answer
 ‘ and pay the Duty of Six-pence per Yard over and
 ‘ above all other Duties payable for the same in Vir-
 ‘ tue of the two Acts in the Reign of *Charles* the 2d
 ‘ above recited; and that the above Duties, imposed
 ‘ by this present Act, shall be applied to the Use of the
 ‘ Hempen and Flaxen Manufactures of this King-
 ‘ dom, and to no other Use whatsoever.’

It further enacts, ‘ That no Drawback or De-
 ‘ benture shall be allowed for exporting any Callicoe,
 ‘ Muffin, Holland, Lawn, foreign Sail Cloth, or
 ‘ Linen whatsoever, excepting such as are of the Ma-
 ‘ nufacture, or painted or stained in *Great-Britain*,
 ‘ any former Law, Usage or Custom to the contrary
 ‘ notwithstanding. And that all new Sails of foreign
 ‘ Sail Cloth found on board any Ship or Boat, except
 ‘ for the Use of said Ship or Boat, shall be lyable to the
 ‘ same Duty as if in *PIECES*, and if attempted to be
 ‘ landed or put on board another Ship or Boat, with-
 ‘ out paying the Duty, shall be forfeited, &c.”

THESE are the Clauses left out.

THE following are some of the most material Al-
 terations.

THE Clause granting a Præmium of five Shillings
 a Hogshead on the Importation of Hemp-seed, or
 Flax-seed, as it went from hence, was in these Words,
 ‘ That whoever shall import or cause to be imported
 ‘ into this Kingdom good sound Hemp-seed or Flax-
 ‘ seed from any Port in *Russia, Sweden, Denmark*,
 ‘ *Poland, Prussia, Germany*, or any Port in the *Baltic-*
 ‘ *Sea*, or within the SOUND, or from *Hamburgh*, or
 ‘ *Altena*, or any of the *English* Plantations in *America*,
 ‘ within the Space of eleven Years from the 25th of
 ‘ December

Notwithstanding these high Duties, which have the Appear-
 ance of Prohibitions, a Revenue is raised therefrom to the Linen
 Board of near Six thousand Pounds a Year. Judge then what
 the Consequence must be to this Country when those Duties shall
 be intirely taken away.

‘ *December* next, and to the End of the then next er-
 ‘ suing Session of Parliament shall receive, &c.’ As
 it returned from *England*, the Clause runs thus, pretty
 much in the Words of our present Law, ‘ That who-
 ‘ ever shall import or cause to be imported into this
 ‘ Kingdom good sound Hemp-seed or Flax-seed of
 ‘ the Growth of *Russia*, *Germany*, the *Netherlands*,
 ‘ the East Country, or any of the *English* Planta-
 ‘ tions in *America*, within the Space of two Years shall
 ‘ receive, &c. n. b.

THE Clause allowing a Præmium of a Shilling
 the Bushel on Flax-seed of the Growth of this Kingdom
 South of *Dundalk*, when landed five or more Leagues
 North of *Dundalk* in this Kingdom, as it went from
 hence, was for seventeen Years, the Policy of which
 was obvious, to induce the Farmer to go into this
 Course of Husbandry, by securing him Encouragement
 for so considerable a length of Time, yet as the Bill
 came back, it was only for two. The Præmium
 likewise of a Shilling the Bushel on exporting of Flax-
 seed of the Growth of this Kingdom from the Port
 of *Dundalk* or South of *Dundalk* to any Part be-
 yond the Sea, when the Price of Flax-seed in this
 Kingdom shall be at five Shillings a Bushel or under, as
 the Bill went from hence seems to be left without any
 Limitation in Point of Time, as it comes back it is
 ‘ for

n. b. The Manner and Words of our former Act which are by
 this alteration restored, were varied in the late Bill on purpose to
 remove all Ambiguity in regard to the Places from whence Flax-
 seed intitled to the Præmium might be imported, and likewise to
 exclude the *Netherlands*, as a great deal of bad Flax-seed has of
 late Years been sent in from *Holland*: by changing eleven Years
 into two, we were likewise to be laid under a Necessity of sending
 over a Linen Bill every Session of Parliament.

‘ for two years from the 25th of *March*, 1752, and
 ‘ from the Expiration thereof to the End of the then
 ‘ next ensuing Session of Parliament, A N D N O
 ‘ LONGER.’

I T will be but too obvious, on the slightest Attention, that these Omissions and Alterations, all of them of an adverse Aspect, tended on the whole, not merely to mar the Growth, but, in truth, to sap the Foundations of our Linen Manufacture.

HAD the Bill, as it came back from *England*, passed into a Law, this Kingdom must in consequence of the Omission of the first Clause abovementioned, have found it self deprived, in Virtue of its own Act and Deed, of the highly important Privilege of sending our Linens to *America*; The Laws made in the Reign of *Charles* the 2d, imposing a Duty on *British* Linens imported into this Country, must in this Case come again into force, and the Officers of the Revenue become consequently obliged to put them in Execution, and the moment this happened, *Ireland* must have found it self under all the Infamy of a *Felo de se*, in respect to this vital Source of its Industry and Support.

HAPPILY the certain, and, as Matters were circumstanced, the only practicable Means of avoiding this Evil, remained in our own Hands: Our House of Commons followed, where hard Necessity pointed out the Way; and in order to avoid a much greater Mischief than the Loss of the Bill, they let the Bill drop: It is to be hoped, by the way, that we shall be taught by this Instance to keep our selves out of

Danger of falling into any such Snare for the future, by discontinuing a Practice lately taken up, which, however well it was intended, is capable of being perverted into an insidious Device of involving this Country in inextricable Difficulties.

BUT, dropping the Bill, is far from proving a Deliverance from the still greater Mischiefs with which this Country is threatned by the Omission of the Clauses which immediately followed; these Evils are just now impending, as the Laws imposing the Duties of eighteen pence a Yard on Callicoes and all foreign Muslins, and of six pence a Yard on all foreign Linens; and likewise for allowing a Præmium on raising Flax-seed in the South, &c. are all to expire at the End of next Session.

UNLESS therefore a more happy Genius shall for the future preside, than what would seem to have had the Direction when such Havock was committed on our favourite Bill, we are to lay our Account, by the beginning of next Summer, to see this Country over-laid with *Indian* Callicoes and Chinces, foreign Muslins and Lawns, spotted and plain, and all kinds of foreign Linens; to the irreparable Injury of our own Manufacture, and likewise to the effectual Exclusion of the *Manchester* Cottons, and of all Kinds of Linens and Lawns of the Manufacture of *Britain*.

WHAT, and whose Policy it was which occasioned these astonishing and unaccountable Changes, it most nearly concerns this Country to search out to the Bottom;

Bottom ; in the mean time, a Reflection administering no small Consolation, spontaneously arises from the very Nature of those Changes, ‘ That it is hardly conceivable, they could have been made, with the Privity and determinate Approbation of those who are principally intrusted with the Administration of the general and commanding Interests of *Britain* ; at least with the Privity of such as have these extensive Interests principally at Heart.’

It has long been esteemed a Circumstance of singular Felicity in the Relation wherein this Country stands to *Britain*, ‘ That in regard to every Instance, on the one Hand, whereby the Welfare of *Ireland* can be promoted, consistently with the Welfare and Prosperity of *Britain*, it evidently becomes, in the Judgment of every Man of common Sense and common Honesty, an Obligation of Interest, as well as a Conduct in other Respects highly suitable to all the more liberal Principles of the *British* Policy, for *Britain*, in all such Instances, not merely to permit this Country to avail it self of its utmost Skill and Industry, which its own National Wisdom instructed from the intimate Relation it stands in to the several Parts, must naturally be best qualified to direct, but likewise to extend to it all that Protection, Encouragement and Assistance which the Nature of the Cases may respectively Require : And, on the other Hand, the same common Sense and common Honesty invariably conspire, to render it equally absurd and unjust, for *Ireland* to aspire to any Advantages, in their Nature or Tendency likely to prove injurious to *Britain* ; for the same plain and obvious Reasons

which make it wicked in a few Individuals to seek their own private Interest at the hazard of the public Safety, or the Expence of the public Good ; and which make it ridiculous to expect, that the Public, having their Eyes open, and Power in their Hands, will suffer them to Succeed.

SUCH then being the righteous and animating Principle of this happy Relation, diffusing Confidence Vigour and Harmony throughout the whole ; and the respective Conduct of the two Countries having so uniformly corresponded with it ; How natural was it for the Gentlemen of this Kingdom, accustomed to live without Suspicion, easily and implicitly to give Credit to the following Story, instantly given out on the Return of this Bill, especially considering the Authority from whence it was supposed to come ?

‘ That all those Omissions happened merely by Accident, and were owing to the Heedlessness of a Clerk engrossing the Bill, who suffered a Parcel of the Sheets from which he was transcribing to slip under the Table, and not attending to the Sense or Connexion, continued to write on.’

IN Consequence however of this honest Credulity, the Attention of the Publick was most unluckily laid asleep, at a Season when every honest Man, meaning well to his Country, and not under the Power of little factious Politics, had he been aware of the real Transaction, must peculiarly have wished it to have been kept broad awake.

It may amaze you, my Country-men, but it must no longer be concealed, even though some of you may be led to judge with Severity of the Inventors of this Report, and likewise of such of the Propagators as were let into the Secret, and thereby became conscious how the Fact stood—the Story is altogether, and in every Article and Circumstance an ‘IDLE TALE;’ for, in the present Generation, such is the Purity of Intention of all Men in Power, or Retainers to Power, that we must not suspect it an ‘INSIDIOUS DEVICE,’ fitted to lead this Country to the brink of Ruin’: All the Omissions

Some odd fatality, as it would seem, must have attended this Bill; the two Clauses mentioned above, confessedly the Articles of greatest significance relative to the general Interest of this Manufacture, happen to be placed in immediate Succession; In Case therefore, the Person or Persons concerned in mutilating this Bill, had any unfriendly Intentions towards this Country which yet they might wish to conceal, how eagerly must this Circumstance have been laid hold of, by them; as, by one single Chasm they would thus conclude themselves secure of answering their Purpose, and yet, in Virtue of such colouring as has been made use of, have the Chance of escaping the Suspicion of its being done by Design. From the several Alterations specified above, it seems in all Probability to have been taken for granted, that the temporary Laws were all to have determined with the End of last Session; and if this had been the Case, the Stroke was masterly, and must have done Execution, let the Conduct of our Parliament on the Return of our Bill, have been what it would; if the Bill should be past, the Blow must have taken Place in all its Extent; and were the Bill to have been let drop, still, in their fond Imaginations, the Injury must prove fatal, as all the Duties on Callicoes and foreign Linens, much of Necessity, have been let drop along with it.

O Ireland, what a Snare (on this Supposition) hast thou escaped,
—— it is to be hoped, for ever!

Omissions as well as all the above Alterations, now evidently appear to have been caused by Design ; and with such Design, as, if not instantly and zealously opposed, and the mischevious Tendency thereof, as well in Regard to the Interests of *Britain*, as of this Country, seasonably laid open to those, on whose Protection we can with Confidence rely, *Ireland* is at the Eve of being robbed of its Paladium, without the loss of which, it may readily be seen to be impossible, ever to subdue the free-born Spirit of this Country, by reducing its Inhabitants to that wretched State of Poverty and Abjectness, requisite to suit the Purposes of Domination of a few ambitious Men.

AMONG the various Conjectures occasioned by this extraordinary Incident, it has been imagined that some Measure of this Sort might have appeared to become requisite, from an apprehended Oppolition of Interest between *North Britain* and *Ireland*, in regard to this Manufacture : Happy will it be for this Country, if this shall turn out to have been in reality the Cause ; for, by making it manifest that all Apprehensions of this Sort are utterly groundless, the adverse Spirit occasioned by these Apprehensions, must in Consequence become placid, and every thing be got rectified without any Difficulty.

BUT if such was in Truth the Source of this Policy, why, in the Name of Common Sense, was it so industriously concealed ? Concealed at a time, when it was so highly reasonable and requisite, that all such Jealousies should be instantly removed, and, when, by an impartial and patient Inquiry into the
Nature

Nature and Circumstances of this common Branch of our Trade, it is capable of so easy a Demonstration, to every attentive and candid spirited Mind, ' that, instead of any real Opposition betwixt *Scotland* and this Country, it is most evidently for the respective Interest of both, to contribute their mutual Assistance in promoting in each, the Culture of this Manufacture, to the utmost Extent which the Condition and Exigencies, and a suitable Attention to the other beneficial Articles of Industry and Commerce, in the respective Countries, will permit.

At present it may suffice to make this single Remark, ' That it must surely be too early to conceive any Jealousy of a thwarting of Interests between any Part of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, till by uniting their Efforts, the *British* Market shall come to be so plentifully supplied at Home, as not to stand in need of the Importation of any of those Articles of this Manufacture in which our common Industry is at present employed, from any of the Countries abroad.'

But, let the Source of the Policy on the other Side of the Water have been what it will, it still remains extremely difficult to conceive, and yet may be of the last Importance to inquire, How it should come to pass, that the Danger into which this Kingdom is evidently brought, in regard to this essential Article of its Industry and Support, was, with so much Address, attempted to be concealed, at a Time, when there was so happy an Opportunity for the public Wisdom of this Country interposing its Aid? In Consequence of which Interposition, every
uneasy

uneasy Apprehension in regard to this Matter, must long ere now have been effectually removed ; not a Person of Discernment and Candor either in the Administration or Legislature of Britain, who would not have seen it made out to their intire Satisfaction, ‘ That every Measure, pernicious to the Linen Manufacture in *Ireland*, must likewise prove hurtful to the Trade and Interests of *Britain* ; consequently must prove highly injurious to the general Welfare, and peculiarly repugnant to the liberal and provident Policy of our Parent Country, remarkable for extending its beneficent Influence for strengthening and invigorating every Part, so far as is found consistent with the Good of the Whole :

How different from this is the present Condition of the Inhabitants of this Country ? Discerning but too clearly, that the most precious Article of our national Support is at this Day at Stake ; utterly ignorant, at the same time, from what Causes we are thus brought into Danger, and thereby left to act merely at Random, or, at best, under the Direction of precarious and fluctuating Conjecture, in looking out for a Remedy ; sadly sensible withal, that unless some effectual Remedy shall be happily provided, before the End of next Session of Parliament, ‘ this Country, instead of beholding our Linen Manufacture in a State of Health and Prosperity, suitable to its present condition, and to the laudable Spirit of Industry every Day increasing amongst us, must be condemned to see, and utterly unable to prevent, the various Symptoms of a fatal Consumption gradually disclosing themselves, which after a few Years languishing,

guishing, must of Necessity issue in its total Dissolution.

THAT this Representation is without Extravagance or Exaggeration, every one will easily be convinced, only by reflecting on the unavoidable Consequences which must instantly ensue on that single Instance of Callicoes, &c. and foreign Linens becoming exempted from the Duties to which they have, to the inestimable Emolument of this Manufacture, for a long Course of Years been so wisely subjected; and every one will see, that, as our present Law stands, these Duties must of Course come to an End with the End of the next Session: Such likewise is the Nature of the other Omissions, and the several Alterations, as plainly to betray, but too apparent Symptoms of an unfriendly Intention towards this Manufacture; and how far this Malevolence may get leave to exert itself, if not seasonably exposed, who is there in this Country, and at this Day, qualified to pronounce?

WHATEVER Caution therefore, or Delicacy may be by some Folks judged necessary upon such an Occasion, in putting their Thoughts into Language, the Nature of the Thing will hardly admit, but that every Man must inwardly resolve this late extraordinary Proceeding into one, or other, of the two following Positions; either, ‘ That this Country has
‘ been thus brought into Danger, by a Trick; in
‘ order, that Deliverance may be afterwards conferred
‘ on us as a Favour;’ or else, ‘ That there is in Fact
‘ a real and deliberate Design, working some where

‘ or other, with such Efficacy, against us, that if
 ‘ not speedily detected, and the malignant Tendency
 ‘ seasonably exposed, must necessarily issue in the
 ‘ irreparable Injury of our Linen Manufacture.’

THE former of these Suppositions carries something in it so extremely unnatural, that from an ingenuous Mind, previously void of Suspicion, it would be incapable of meeting with one Moment’s Reception ; But, *to the Jealous, Trifles light as Air, turn Confirmations strong, as Proofs from Holy Writ :* Whether the Circumstance of suffering a Falshood, to impose so critically on the Minds of the Public, comes within this Description, will best be left to every Man’s own Breast to determine.

STILL it must be acknowledged by every liberal Mind, that the latter is much the more natural Conjecture ; and as this would appear to be the only Alternative, let it be taken for granted, that this was in reality the Nature of the Fact, and that it shall turn out, in very Deed, to have been ‘ a settled Purpose, in some Person or Persons, through whose Hands our *Irish* Bills necessarily pass on the other Side of the Water, not merely to stop the Growth, but to cut the very Sinews of our Linen Manufacture ;’ To what Cause, Person, or Policy, can it be ascribed, upon this Supposition, that the Truth of this Transaction was industriously concealed from the Observation of the Public, whose essential Interests were thus evidently struck at, with such very strong Symptoms of Malice Propense ? concealed at greater Ex-
 pence

pence than a Man of Honour would allow himself to be at, for the saving his Life?

IF it was understood, or even suspected, ‘ That stopping the Progress of the Linen Manufacture in *Ireland* was come to be an Article of Policy, with the *Administration* in *Britain* ;’ a Supposition made only in Order to take in every possible Cause ; but if it was apprehended that the Policy of this Measure had its Origin so deep, could there be any thing, if not more unfriendly in Intention, at least, more injurious in its Tendency and Effects, than to hide this Matter from a Country whose all was at Stake? To hide it, at a Time when there was so seasonable an Opportunity for the public Wisdom of this Country interposing its united Council and Influence, for warding off a Blow, which if not warded off, must prove fatal to us ; and at the same Time so injurious to *Britain*, that it must quickly become obvious to every Man of Sense, that no such Blow could ever have been meditated, but under the Power of some sudden Prejudice, occasioned by artful Misrepresentations and odious Colourings, which it was, therefore, peculiarly the Business of the National Council of this Kingdom to wipe off and set Right.

SUPPOSING, then, that in Consequence of some mistaken Apprehension, it was one way or other conceived to be an Article of necessary Policy, to put a stop to the Progress of increasing Industry, and the flowing of the living Fountain of salutary Wealth in this Country ; was it not in its Nature a most favourable Circumstance, tho’, in the Event, it has

proved not merely insignificant, but hurtful; that the public Council of the Nation, the only proper Persons to search out the latent Causes of this impending Danger, and to devise an adequate Remedy, if in Fact, an adequate Remedy might still be devised, was then fitting?

REPRESENTATIONS from Individuals, when the Danger came to be discerned, might many of them be petulant, the hasty Expressions of tumultuary Minds, conscious of no ill Desert, and yet now suddenly seeing themselves and their Country on the Brink of the Precipice; and tho' some of these Representations, in Point of Decency, and suitable Respect, as well as of sound Argument and liberal Policy, might prove altogether unexceptionable; yet all of them, from their Nature, must be necessarily void of that Authority and Weight in Point of Testimony, not merely in regard to Facts, but to the national Spirit and Principles of this Country, which on the present Occasion, and in our present Circumstances, are so peculiarly requisite.

How different must the Case have been in a parliamentary Representation? There, after a patient and dispassionate Inquiry, if, agreeably to the present Supposition, it came to be discerned that this unlooked for Change, in regard to our Linen Manufacture, was in reality owing to some unfavourable and mistaken Apprehensions, ' either in respect to the political Principles and Temper of this Country in general; or of its Industry in general; or else in regard to the Tendency and Effects of its Industry

‘ dustry in this particular Branch,’ with what Assurance of carrying home the fullest Conviction to the Breast of every honest Person in *Britain*, would they have entered into a solemn Disquisition concerning each of these Points ? How impreguably would they have laid their Foundation, by asserting, in Terms of the strongest Significancy, Truths, to which the Heart of every sober Protestant in *Ireland*, and of all who wish well to the general Interests of Liberty must readily bear witness ?

‘ That a Sense of the inestimable Happiness resulting from the present Relation wherein *Ireland* stands to *Britain* is truly the national Sense ; lively and prevalent, and so universal, that several of the popish Inhabitants, tho’, in other Respects, still under the Power of that unsociable and enslaving Superstition, may justly be reckon’d to live under its Influence :’ ‘ That in consequence of this truly honourable Relation, it is a Duty well understood, and, upon all necessary Occasions, ready to be practised by all his Majesty’s Subjects in *Ireland*, who wish well to the Interests of a legal Government, and to the Protestant Succession in the present Royal Family, to venture, and to sacrifice their Fortunes and Lives in Defence of the Liberties and Prosperity of *Britain* ; well knowing that they can have no Security for their own Birth-right, which to them is more precious than Fortune or Life, but what must depend on the Security of the Birth-right of their elder Brethren ;’

‘ THAT

‘ THAT they are not only aware of the Force of the Inference naturally resulting from this Obligation, but are, in all significant Instances, conscious of a Disposition to submit to the Power of it; conscious of being ready, when at any Time there shall unhappily fall out any real and important Opposition of Interest betwixt *Great-Britain* and this Country, voluntarily to acquiesce in the Sacrifice of their own, which must be honestly acknowledged, the inferior Interest, to that of their Mother-country; whose Prosperity they are sensible ought at all Times to have the Preference, as being still more intimately connected with, and from its Nature more essential to the Good of the Whole.’

THESE then being the well known, permanent Principles of all the sober, thinking, and well-affected Inhabitants of this Kingdom, with what irresistible Evidence would our Parliament have been able to vindicate the Cause of their Country; and to demonstrate that all Prejudices endeavoured to be insinuated against us on Account of national Temper or Principles, are utterly groundless, and highly injurious to a brave, and honest, and free People; a People as sensible, as common Sense can make them, that they can no longer be free, in any valuable Signification of that animating Sound, than while, in Virtue of their present Connection, they continue to have the Interest, the Faith, and which is still more endearing, the parental and fraternal Affection of *Britain* and its Sons, for their precious Pledge and Security in the quiet Enjoyment of all the Blessings of a legal Government,
and

and of all the Advantages likewise of an industrious People, so far as shall be judged consistent with the Welfare of *Britain*, and so long as they shall continue to deserve this Affection, by being at all Times ready to enter into the Defence, and to consult the permanent Safety and Prosperity of their Mother Country, at any Expence of Hazard in respect to themselves.

HERE we should have had no frantic Sallies of Enthusiasm, nor any thing akin to the licentious and absurd Declamations of a few Individuals, actuated by private and strangely misplaced Ambition, but apparently Strangers to the fundamental Principles, and extensive Relations of the political Connexions of Mankind ; Far from considering *Ireland* as a new *Atlantis*, situated in the midst of the Sea, or rather, in midst of the Clouds, utterly unrelated to, and absolutely independant, in point of Subsistence and Protection, on any other Country upon Earth, we should have heard the great Council of the Nation, with a composed Elevation of Sentiment, suitable to the happy Circumstances in which we actually exist, explaining to the World, ‘ That instead of claiming or wishing to be considered as an intire Whole, or Community, by itself, this Country has long accounted it a Circumstance of inestimable Value, and the only rational Security for our Liberty and Happiness,’ ‘ That *Ireland* is not a WHOLE, but a PART ; an Honourable and Integral Member of the noblest Political Community now subsisting upon Earth ; whereof *Great Britain* is most readily acknowledged to be still so much the Greater and more Honourable Part,
that

that whatever is found essential to the Safety and Interests of this our Parent Country, ought, in all Justice, to be considered by all her Children as Essential to the Welfare and Interests of the Whole.'

IN these most salutary Bands of Union, has God and Nature joined *Britain* and *Ireland* together, and infamous be the Men who shall ever attempt to put them asunder!

OUR Parliament having thus effectually wiped off the only Colour which could possibly render this Country an Object of Disgust or Suspicion, in the Eye of any fair minded *Briton*, how easy, under the second Article, would have been their Task, in demonstrating, ' That the increasing Industry of this Country in general, instead of becoming at any Time an Occasion of Jealousy, ought at all Times to be considered as a permanent Source of Wealth and Power to our Mother Country ; at all Times, while the same liberal and manly Spirit continues to be cherished in us, which so gloriously distinguishes our elder Brethren from all the other Nations upon Earth ; a Spirit only to be excited by, and always inseparable from the animating sense of living under a Government of Laws, and not left at the Mercy of any Man's, or Combination of Men's, phantastical Ambition or arbitrary Will :

WHILE such a Spirit and Temper continue to prevail in this Country, nothing can be more evident than ' That in Consequence of the Connexion in Point of Trade and national Intercourse wherein we stand
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to *Britain*, and in Consequence of that constant Resort to the SEAT OF EMPIRE, in Pursuit of Pleasure, or Business, or the Purposes of Ambition, which must go on to increase as our Industry and Plenty increase, most of the Wealth of *Ireland* must of Course come annually to be emptied into the Lap of *Britain*; and that in regard to the Residue which shall continue at Home, the more it increases, and the more a National Spirit of Industry is encouraged and nursed up, the happier it must be for our Parent Country; in all Exigencies thus assured of a Resource in a Race of her Offspring, who, taught by Nature, Constitution, and Experience, as well as by the glorious Example of our Elder Brethren, worthily possessing a still nobler Inheritance, to set a Value on the free Exercise of Religion, and the secure Enjoyment of the other essential Privileges and Rights of a legal Government, preferably to Life and all its other Possessions; and, well knowing, ‘ That these singular Blessings are no longer to be hoped for, than while our Mother Country continues powerful and free, must at all Times, and at all Hazards, be zealously ready to vindicate the Liberties and maintain the Dignity of *Britain*, on the same Principles, and at the same Expence, we would be ready to vindicate and to maintain our own.

INDEED a dreadful Reverse of all this would quickly come to take Place, should it ever come to pass, which Heaven forbid! that this Spirit and Temper shall happen to be subdued, or by frequent Depressions, their Vigour and elastic Spring should come to be lost; if ever it should happen, for Instance, that the principal Direction as well as Con-

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troul in all the interesting internal Concernments of this Country, shall by one Means or other come to be ingrossed by a few, whose principal personal Interests may not only, in their Nature be separable from, but in Fact, have in simular Instances been known actually to operate in direct Opposition to the commanding Interests of *Britain and Ireland*, ' to the Interests of Religion, Liberty, and our happy Constitution ; or, if ever it should happen, ' That the National Guardians of our Rights, Properties, and Priviledges, by whose Authority all Taxes are imposed, for the Protection of the Public, and the several other collateral Exigences of Government, shall basely relinquish their Self-evident Right, of inquiring how far such Taxes, after being raised, have been applied to the Purposes for which they were granted ; or in Cases, where, from the Increase of Industry, or which is much more likely to be the Cause, from an Increase of Luxury, large Redundancies shall happen to remain in the public Treasury after all the Exigencies of Government have been effectually supplied ; if ever it should happen in Cases of this, or any simular Nature, ' that these national Guardians, instead of considering such Redundancies as so much Money remaining in the Treasury, to the Credit of the Public, from whose Pockets it was raised, and themselves as standing in the Place of those Trustees, by whose Authority the Taxes yielding this Redundancy were originally imposed, shall treacherously, or tamely, suffer such public Money to be disposed of, by Treasury Officers, without any Account ; Then, and not till Then, can the Increase of Industry and Wealth in this Country become with any Sort of Justice, an Object

ject of Jealousy to the Nation of *Britain* ; Then, indeed, as every honest Inhabitant of this Kingdom must find himself forced to acknowledge, *Ireland* must instantly cease to be, what it is at present, an integral and salutary Member of the free Empire of *Britain*, and instead thereof, must soon come to stand in the same destructive Relation to *England*, which the *Asiatic* Provinces stood anciently in to *Rome*.

It was not merely the Riches, even of those remote Provinces, but the subdued and dastardly Spirit of the *Asiatic* Inhabitants, not daring to claim a Property in those Riches, that hastened the Ruin of the *Roman* Commonwealth ; it was the giving up of these, and the other Provinces, to the Plunder and Domination of a few Individuals, which enabled those insolent and ambitious Spirits, possessing great Power, and void of all Ties and Obligations of Interest to exert this Power for the Happiness of the People subjected to their Government, first, to corrupt, and finally to subdue the Virtue and Liberty of their native Country ;—— should therefore in any future Period, so abject a Spirit become the odious Characteristic of the Inhabitants of this Island, no right spirited Man, unfortunately happening to have his Residence among them, but who must inwardly approve, and even applaud, every Instance of Policy, and Act of Power, which shall be found necessary for stopping the Growth of that Wealth, which, if not speedily suppressed, is so obviously lyable to be abused for the infamous Purpose, of corrupting the Morals, and oppressing the Liberties of the Inhabitants of *Britain*.

SELF EVIDENT, therefore it is, that the Spirit of this Country must first be broken down, and the Yoke of personal Domination actually clapt round the Neck of its wretched Inhabitants, before it can cease to be the Wisdom and the Interest of *Britain*, to cherish in *general*, the growing industry of *Ireland*; with what Advantage then must our Parliament, after a Representation on this Head, which could not fail of manifesting a sober Firmness of Mind, in vindicating the essential Rights of this Kingdom, at the same time that it testified the most respectful and affectionate Duty to our Mother Country, have proceeded to the last Article remaining to be discussed; namely, to inquire whether in the present Circumstances of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, any thwarting of Interests be in Fact conceivable, from the increasing Industry of this Country, in the *particular Instance* of our Linen Manufacture? here they would have probably judged it needless to remark, how different the Policy which *Britain* hitherto has practised in regard to this principal Article of our national Support! the many substantial Proofs given from Time to Time by the *British* Legislature of a thorough Disposition to encourage in *Ireland* the Progress of this Manufacture, and the numerous Exhortations delivered from the Throne, to the People of this Country, to bend their Attention to its Cultivation, assuring them of all requisite Concurrence, and promising them all necessary Aid, are fresh in every one's Memory; What therefore might probably have been thought under this Head best deserving their Notice, would have been, first, to have expressed their utter Inability

lity to apprehend how in any one Circumstance there can possibly happen at present the least interfering of Interests between *Britain* and *Ireland*, in regard to this Manufacture, when it is so universally known, that notwithstanding all the Industry they have hitherto been able to exert, Quantities of foreign Linen, vastly exceeding the Produce of both, are annually wanted, to answer the Consumption and Traffic of *Britain*.

IN the next Place, THEY would probably have thought it necessary earnestly to represent how irreparable the Injury might prove, should any hasty Measure be taken in so interesting a Matter ; pledging their Faith, ‘ That if upon a dispassionate and patient Inquiry, any such Opposition of Interests, contrary to all Appearances, should come to be disclosed, this Kingdom would always be ready to come into every Abatement which the impartial Wisdom of our Mother-country shall see it fit and just to point out : Perfectly willing to be weighed, but strenuously insisting on being weighed in the public Ballance of political Justice, where the equitable Hand of the Genius of *Britain* has hold of the Scales.

Is it conceivable that such a national Representation seasonably made, would not long since have been effectual for procuring us Assurances on which we could with Confidence rely, ‘ that not any of the Mischiefs threatned by the Havock in our late Linen Bill should be permitted to take place ?’

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BUT how important soever the Advantages would have been of such a Representation, that Opportunity was unhappily lost ; and lost solely in consequence of the Story which was raised to impose on the natural Credulity of an unsuspecting People ; a People disposed to give Credit to any Report, sooner than to suspect, ‘ That any Design could be any where carrying on, to destroy the Linen Manufacture, that most essential Article of our National Support, and to stifle the Industry while yet in its Infancy of the Inhabitants of this Country :’ Had it not been for this amiable Excess of Candour, and Confidence of Temper, the Invention sent abroad was in its Nature too Gross to have obtained any Belief ; but so powerful has been in Fact this Lullabay Tale, that possibly at this very Hour not less than nineteen in twenty continue still fast asleep, having their Reflection locked up, while their Imaginations are amused with delusory Dreams.

IT is, however, high time to awake : Though the best Opportunity was thus unhappily lost, all is not lost ; still there is Place for the critical Interposition of the Men of Dignity and Weight, and sober Sense of this Country, who have the inseparable Interests of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland* affectionately at Heart ; and who, having the Merits of so Catholic a Cause, so irresistably on their Side, now that they have a candid State of the Case distinctly before them, cannot well fail to succeed.

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IRELAND is so Conscious of upright Intention, that far from declining or wishing to avoid, it is pleased, with every Opportunity of having its Fidelity and dutiful Attachment to its Parent Country searched to the Bottom.

AND most happily for us, indeed singularly happy even for the Enemies of *Britain*, that such is *Britain's* innate Greatness of Spirit, as never to suffer her to take any Measures which she is not at all Times willing to avow and prepared to justify—not primarily by Force, but previously, ‘By an open Appeal to the Principles of Righteousness and liberal Policy, in the Face of the World: A Spirit abhorrent of every thing oppressive, false, or insidious.

WHAT, therefore, at present, and indeed upon all Occasions seems principally to be guarded against, on the side of this Country, is, ‘to prevent its being clandestinely injured by the Fraud or Finesses of *Petit Maitres in Politics*, who forming their Conception of the Spirit and Understanding of the Inhabitants of this Country, from such kind of Materials as *London Coffee House Wit*, or from the perusal of such Books of Instruction as that facetious Collection, called, *Joe Miller's Jests*, may regard it as an Enterprize to which their *Pseudo Machiavelian* Genius has rendered them equal, ‘of robbing this Country of the most authentic Vouchers of its Priviledges and Rights, and legal Constitution; ‘of undermining its Strength; and finally ‘of reducing it to the
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abject State of an eastern Province, where the arbitrary Edict of a Tetrach or a Patriarch stands in Place of the Law, or which is still more ignominious, can be forced on the Country under the Guise of a Law, while the wretched Inhabitants dare not in any one Instance attempt to resist, nay possibly may find it unsafe so much as to complain.

BLESSED be God, the Circumstances of the Inhabitants of this Country are such, and such the happy Nature of its Connexion with *Britain*, as not to stand in Dread of any such Wretchedness: *Ireland* must always continue too respectable an Object, in the estimation of *Britain*, ever to be given up in any of its important Interests and Privileges, to the sport and resentment of any Particulars, let their external Denomination be ever so dignified; and so long as *Britain* shall continue to inherit that Magnanimity and Justice, which are the essential Attributes of the Spirit of Liberty, nothing more can be requisite for the safety of *Ireland* when at any Time in danger of suffering an Injury by the Effect of her Power, than seasonably, and with filial Confidence, to point out to her this Injury:

BE this therefore your immediate Business, as Necessity has made it your indispensable Duty, ye real Patriots, and faithful Guardians to this Country! Animated with the Sense of your pleading the Cause, a most righteous Cause, of a most loyal and pains-taking People; and of pleading it at a Bar, where Justice and Mercy inspiring the Breast
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of the common Father of his Country, must pronounce the Decree.

AND may the Blessing of hundreds of thousands of his Majesty's faithful and industrious Subjects, rescued from the awful Danger of being stripped of their immediate Subsistence, come upon HIM as the Author, on his faithful Counsellors as the Advisers, and on you as the Advocates of so great a Deliverance! *Amen and Amen.*

FROM a settled Conviction of the Justness and Truth of the Sentiments and Facts expressed in this Paper, and under a painful Sense of the Mischiefs which might accrue to this Country, should its present most critical Situation, in regard to the Safety of its Linen Manufacture be any longer concealed; the Writer finds himself obliged, in this artless Manner, to make it known to the Public; unable in any other way, to make himself sure, that those who may be most zealously disposed, and likewise best qualified for averting the Danger, shall be seasonably apprised of its real Nature and Circumstances: Conscious of this State of Mind, it matters not much to an obscure Individual, whether the Measure He has taken shall be imputed by others, to an Officiousness of Temper and Vanity of Mind, or whether it shall be admitted even as a possible Supposition, that the Whole may have proceeded from an honest Solitude, well or ill grounded, for the Safety of this Country.

